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TELEGRAM

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 IO-14 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
INC-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /102 W  
-----047637 041730Z /13

P R 021059Z SEP 79  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5461  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
CINCPAC  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6605

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/2/85 (TAYLOR, JAMES E.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, PINS, PINT, AF  
SUBJ: (LOU) A SECOND UNDERGROUND NIGHT LETTER BLASTS PRIME  
MINISTER AMIN FOR CREATING DOMESTIC TROUBLES

REF: KABUL 5360 (NOTAL)

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: A SECOND UNDERGROUND "NIGHT LETTER" FROM A  
SELF-PROCLAIMED GROUP OF DISSIDENT KHALQIS APPEARED IN KABUL  
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ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 29. THE PROPAGANDA SHEET LABASTED

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PRIME MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN -- BY NAME THIS TIME -- FOR CREATING A PERSONAL TYRANNY WHICH NOW THREATENS THE REVOLUTION. ONE SPECTACULAR NEW WRINKLE IS THAT PRESIDENT MOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI ALLEGEDLY CONCEDED HE WAS POWERLESS TO CLIP AMIN'S WINGS. AUTHORS OF THE LETTER REMAIN UNKNOWN, AND THERE IS, AS YET, NO FIRM DATA REGARDING HOW LARGE A FOLLOWING THIS GROUP MAY HAVE. PARTY DISCIPLINE IS MANDATORY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THIS LEADERSHIP, AND ANY SERIOUS CRACKS IN PARTY RANKS WOULD HAVE FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A SECOND "NIGHT LETTER" (AN UNDERGROUND DOCUMENT CIRCULATED CLANDESTINELY) ALLEGEDLY AUTHORED BY DISSIDENT KHALQIS. COPIES WERE APPARENTLY DISTRIBUTED DURING THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 28-29, AND WERE FOUND IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CITY. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS AND THE PREVIOUS DOCUMENT (REFTEL) WERE PREPARED BY GENUINE SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, BUT WHO NOW VEHEMENTLY OPPOSE AMIN, AND BLAME HIM FOR THE NUMERIOUS TROUBLES BESETTING THIS REGIME. WE CANNOT RULE OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS DOCUMENT REPRESENTS A "BLACK PROPAGANDA" EFFORT BY THE INSURGENTS OR PARCHAMISTS, BUT SUCH AN OPERATION WOULD ENTAIL CONSIDERABLY MORE POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA SOPHISTICATION THAN THE OPPOSITION WITHIN AFGHANISTAN HAS DISPLAYED HERETOFORE.

4. THE TEXT OF THE EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE LATEST NIGHT LETTER FOLLOWS:  
BEGIN TEXT.

"DECLARATION OF KHALQIS WHO FAVOR UNITY

"WE A NUMBER OF KHALQIS KNOWING OUR GRAVE RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN, DECIDED NOT TO BE INDIFFERENT TO THE TREACHERY AND RASCALITY OF THE CORRUPTED BAND OF AMIN.

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SOMETIME IN THE PAST, WE ISSUED A DECLARATION WHICH WAS GREETED WARMLY BY OUR FRIENDS. THAT DECLARATION SHOWED THAT NOW ALL KHALQIS ARE TREACHEROUS. INSTEAD, THE DECLARATION SHOWED THAT THERE ARE STILL SOME KHALQIS WHO SUPPORT THE PEOPLE AND WOULD LIKE TO GET UNITED TO SAVE THE PARTY FROM THE EVILS OF AMIN. IN THAT DECLARATION THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE MADE:  
"BUT THE REAL SEPARATISTS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE PEOPLE, SEE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS AS THE CAUSE OF RECENT DISORDER IN THE COUNTRY:

1. EXCESS OF SELFISHNESS AND PERSONALITY CULT IN THE

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LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY.

2. FOLLOWING THE LINES OF THE OLD LEADERSHIP WHICH IS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION.

3. ESTABLISHING A CENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP INSTEAD OF A DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP.

4. SEPARATION OF THE PARTY AND REVOLUTION FOR PERSONAL AND FAMILY BENEFITS.

5. DISPLACING AND DISMISSING LOYAL REVOLUTIONARY PERSONALITIES.

6. SUBJECTIVISM AND EXPANSIONISM UNDER THE GUISE OF PEOPLE'S DESIRE.

7. IGNORING WHAT WAS PROMISED TO THE PEOPLE AND LACK OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM AND PERSONAL SECURITY. PUTTING THOUSANDS OF KHALOIS IN JAIL WHO DID NOT COME TO TERMS WITH THE "LOYAL STUDENT."

8. BRINGING DISCREPANCY AND DIFFERENCES AMONG THE PEOPLE BY ATTACKING RELIGION AND TRADITION AGAINST THE INSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY.

9. ISSUING BASELESS SLOGANS SUCH AS "NARROWMINDED NATIONALISTS" AND "ARISTOCRATS" WILL DESTROY NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS.

10. USING SLOGANS AND NAMES SUCH AS "LOYAL STUDENT" AND "CLOSE FRIEND" WILL CLEARLY HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE UNITY OF THE PARTY.

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P R 021059Z SEP 79  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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11. LACK OF SELF-CRITICISM AMONG THE PARTY ORGANS. (WE HAVE SEEN MANY TIMES IN PARTY MEETINGS THAT CERTAIN PEOPLE WHO CRITICIZED CERTAIN PARTY ACTIONS HAVE BEEN PUNISHED AND DISMISSED.)

12. VIOLENT ACTS AND THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE.

13. COLLUSION WITH FOREIGN ENEMIES EVEN THOUGH THEIR ANIMOSITY IS EVIDENT.

14. COLLUSION WITH DOMESTIC ENEMIES AND ASSIGNING THEM TO IMPORTANT POSITIONS.

"ALTHOUGH ISSUING THE DECLARATION HELPED LOYAL KHALOIS AND THE PARTY TO EMERGE FROM INDIFFERENCE, AT THE SAME TIME AMIN INTENSIFIED HIS ACTIONS. BY ASSIGNING HIS BROTHER AS CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES, ONCE AGAIN

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AMIN SHOWED THAT HE AND ONLY HE IS IN CHARGE OF EVERYTHING AND BROOKS NO COMPETITION. HE ASSIGNED ALL OF HIS RELATIVES.

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TRIBE AND CLOSE FRIENDS TO IMPORTANT POSITIONS. HIS NEPHEW AND SON-IN-LAW IS DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER. ANOTHER OF HIS CLOSE RELATIVES IS IN CHARGE OF THE TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT AND IS BUSY ROBBING PEOPLE'S POCKETS. IF HE DID NOT HAVE THE POWER, WHO WOULD HAVE ASSIGNED HIS CORRUPT AND ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY BROTHER TO SUCH AN IMPORTANT POST?

"AMIN'S BEHAVIOR AND TYRANNY ARE AN EMBARRASSMENT TO THE DEMOCRATIC KHALQ PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN. THIS HAS CAUSED THE OPPOSITIONIST ELEMENTS TO UNITE TO THREATEN THE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE COUNTRY. AS ONE FRIEND RECENTLY SAID, 'PEOPLE EVEN HATE TO TAKE OUR NAME. THEY DON'T WANT TO GET CLOSE TO US.'"

"USING MILITARY POWER, AMIN SUPPRESSED MANY OF OUR LOYAL PARTY MEMBERS AND CALLED THEM FACTIONALISTS AND ARISTOCRATS. HE CHANGED THE PARTY INTO AN UNDESIRABLE GROUP."

"ALTHOUGH WE INFORMED THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY OF AMIN'S ACTS AND BEHAVIOR MANY TIMES, HE TOLD US WITH MUCH REGRET THAT AMIN IS IN CHARGE OF EVERYTHING AND HE (THE GENERAL SECRETARY) CANNOT DO ANYTHING AND EVERY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH AMIN."

"THEREFORE IT IS EVIDENT THAT ALL KHALQIS SHOULD JOIN HANDS AGAINST AMIN AND DISARM HIM OF HIS POWER. THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SHOULD ALSO TAKE TIMELY ACTION. OTHERWISE, THE LOYAL MEMBERS OF THE PARTY WILL LOSE FAITH IN THEM." END OF TEXT.

5. COMMENT: THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS PARTICULAR LETTER GOES WELL BEYOND THIS GROUP'S (IF IT IS, IN FACT, THE SAME GROUP) INITIAL EFFORT IN BLASTING AMIN PERSONALLY FOR THE "DISORDER" IN THE COUNTRY. CHARGES AGAINST AMIN INCLUDING "CULT OF PERSONALITY," NEPOTISM, PERSONAL PROFIT, VIOLENT SUPPRESSION

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OF DISSENT WITHIN THE PARTY, "COLLUSION" WITH FOREIGN ENEMIES, AND POLICY MISCALCULATIONS, ARE CHARGES WHICH HAVE BEEN LEVELLED IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER AGAINST THE AFGHAN LEADER BEFORE, BUT NEVER QUITE SO SUCCESSFULLY AS IN THIS LATEST NIGHT LETTER. THE STRIKING NEW WRINKLES ARE THAT AMIN'S "BEHAVIOR AND TYRANNY" HAVE APPARENTLY CAUSED THE PEOPLE IN THIS PARTICULAR OPPOSITION GROUP TO UNITE THEIR EFFORTS, THAT THE LETTER'S AUTHORS ACKNOWLEDGE THE PARTY HAS BECOME AN "UNDESIRABLE GROUP," AND (MOST SPECTACULAR OF ALL) THAT TARAKI WAS APPROACHED BY THIS GROUP, BUT HE ALLEGEDLY ADMITTED HELPLESSNESS BECAUSE AMIN IS ALL-POWERFUL.

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6. THE CONCLUDING APPEAL TO THE PARTY'S POLITBURO AND THE "RULING" REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IS CLEARLY A CALL TO ARMS AGAINST AMIN, BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THIS APPEAL WILL FALL ON DEAF EARS. IN THIS REGARD, ONE FEATURE OF THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS HERE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY REGIME HAS BEEN THE STRICT DISCIPLINE DISPLAYED BY THE POPA CADRE IN THE FACE OF GROWING DOMESTIC TENSIONS AND VIOLENCE. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION AS YET CONCERNING THE SIZE OR COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP BEHIND THIS NIGHT-LETTER PROJECT, BUT ANY SERIOUS CRACK IN THE POPA RANKS WOULD HAVE FAR-REACHING REPERCUSSIONS, SINCE THE PARTY AND THE LOYALTY IT COMMANDS IN CERTAIN KEY MILITARY UNITS CONSTITUTE THE CRUCIAL PILLARS HOLDING UP THE DRA REGIME. AMSTUTZ

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